
BOOK VIII.

URANIA.

THE Greeks who were assigned to the navy, were these. The Athenians, who furnished one hundred and twenty-seven ships ; but the Plataeans, from a spirit of valour and zeal, though inexperienced in the sea-service, assisted the Athenians in manning the ships. The Corinthians furnished forty ships ; the Megareans twenty ; the Chalcidians manned twenty, the Athenians having furnished them with ships ; the Æginetæ, eighteen ; the Sicyonians, twelve ; the Lacedæmonians, ten ; the Epidaurians, eight ; the Eretrians, seven ; the Trœzenians, five ; the Styreans, two ; and the Ceians, two ships, and two penteconters ; the Opuntian Locrians also came to their assistance, with seven penteconters. 2. These, then, were they who were engaged in the war at Artemisium, and I have mentioned how each contributed to the number of the ships. The total of the ships

assembled at Artemisium, besides the penteconters, was two hundred and seventy-one. The admiral, who had the chief power, the Spartans supplied, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides, for the allies had refused "if the Lacedæmonian did not command, to follow Athenian leaders, but *said* they would break up the intended fleet." 3. For from the first there was a talk, even before they sent to Sicily to solicit an alliance, that it would be proper to intrust the navy to the Athenians. But as the allies opposed, the Athenians gave way, deeming it of high importance that Greece should be saved, and knowing that if they should quarrel about the command, Greece would be lost; herein thinking justly. For intestine discord is as much worse than war carried on in concert, as war is than peace. Being, therefore, convinced of this, they did not resist, but yielded as long as they had need of their assistance, as they clearly showed. For when, having repulsed the Persian, they were now contending for his country, they put forward as a pretext the arrogance of Pausanias, and deprived the Lacedæmonians of the chief command. But these things occurred afterwards. 4. But at that time, those Greeks who had arrived at Artemisium, when they saw a vast number of ships drawn up at Aphetæ, and all parts full of troops, since the affairs of the barbarian turned out contrary to their expectation, in great consternation, deliberated about retiring from Artemisium to the inner parts of Greece. The Eubœans, knowing that they were deliberating on this matter, entreated Eurybiades to remain a short time longer, until they could remove their children and domestics to a place of safety. But finding they could not persuade him, they then went over to the Athenian general, and prevailed on Themistocles, by a bribe of thirty talents, to promise that they would stay and engage the enemy by sea before Eubœa. 5. Themistocles, to retain the Greeks, did as follows. Of this money he gave five talents to Eurybiades, as if indeed he gave it from himself; and when he had gained him over, as Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian commander, was the only person who resisted, affirming that he would sail away from Artemisium, and not stay, to him Themistocles said with an oath: "You shall not abandon us; for I will make you a greater present than the king of the Medes would send you for abandoning the allies." He at the same time said this and sent three talents of silver on

board the ship of Adimantus. They therefore, being swayed by the present, were gained over, and complied with the wishes of the Eubœans ; but Themistocles himself was a considerable gainer, as he secretly kept the rest ; but those who took part of this money, thought it came from the Athenians, on that condition.

6. They accordingly remained in Eubœa, and came to an engagement by sea. It happened in this manner. When the barbarians arrived at Aphetæ, in the afternoon, having been already informed that a few Grecian ships were stationed, and then descrying them at Artemisium, they were eager to attack, in the hope of taking them. However, they did not think it advisable to sail directly upon them, for the following reasons, lest the Greeks, seeing them sailing towards them, should betake themselves to flight, and the night should cover their retreat, by which means they would escape ; but, according to their saying, they thought that not even the torch-bearer would escape alive. 7. For this purpose, then, they had recourse to the following plan : having detached two hundred ships from the whole fleet, they sent them round, outside Sciathus, that they might not be seen by the enemy sailing round Eubœa, by Caphareus and round Geræstus to the Euripus ; that so they might surround them, the one party arriving at the place appointed in that way, and intercepting their retreat, and themselves attacking them in front. Having determined on this, they despatched the ships appointed for this service, themselves not intending to attack the Greeks that day, nor before the agreed signal should be seen, given by those who sailed round, announcing their arrival. These, then, they sent round, and set about taking the number of the rest of the ships at Aphetæ. 8. At this time, while they were taking the number of their ships, there was in this camp Scyllias of Scyone, the best diver of his time ; he, in the shipwreck that happened off Pelion, had saved much of their treasure for the Persians, and had acquired a good deal for himself. This Scyllias had long before entertained the design of deserting to the Greeks, but had had no opportunity of doing so until that time. In what way he at length made his escape to the Grecians I cannot certainly affirm, and I wonder whether the account given is true. For it is said, that having plunged into the sea at Aphetæ, he never rose until he reached Arte-

misium, having passed this distance through the sea, as near as can be, eighty stadia. Many other things are related of this man that are very like falsehood, and some that are true. If, however, I may give my opinion of this matter, it is, that he came to Artemisium in a boat. On his arrival, he immediately informed the commanders of the shipwreck, how it had occurred, and of the ships that were sent round Eubœa. 9. The Greeks, having heard this, held a conference among themselves; and, after much debate, it was resolved, that remaining there and continuing in their station during that day, then, when midnight was passed, they should proceed, and meet the ships that were sailing round. But after this, when no ship sailed against them, having waited for the evening of the day, they sailed of themselves against the barbarians, being desirous to make trial of their manner of fighting, and of breaking through the line. 10. The other soldiers of Xerxes, and the commanders, seeing them sailing towards them with so few ships, attributed their conduct to madness, and on their part got their ships under weigh, expecting that they should easily take them; and their expectations were very reasonable, when they saw that the Grecian ships were few, and their own many more in number, and better sailers: taking these things into consideration, they enclosed them in the middle of a circle. Now, such of the Ionians as were well-affected to the Greeks, and joined the expedition unwillingly, regarded it as a great calamity, when they saw them surrounded, feeling convinced that not one of them would return; so weak did the Grecian forces appear to them to be. But such as were pleased with what was going on, vied with each other how each might be the first to take an Athenian ship, and receive a reward from the king. For throughout the fleet they had the highest opinion of the Athenians. 11. When the signal was given to the Greeks, first of all turning their prows against the barbarians, they contracted their sterns inwardly to the middle; and when the second signal was given, they commenced the attack, though enclosed in a narrow space, and that prow to prow. On this occasion they took thirty ships of the barbarians, and Philaon, son of Chersis, the brother of Gorgus, king of the Salaminians, a man highly esteemed in their army. Lycomedes, son of Æschreus, an Athenian, was the first of the Greeks who took a

ship from the enemy, and he received the palm of valour. But night coming on, separated the combatants, who in this engagement fought with doubtful success. The Greeks returned to Artemisium, and the barbarians to Aphetæ, having fought with far different success than they expected. In this engagement Antidorus, a Lemnian, was the only one of the Greeks in the king's service who went over to the Grecians; and on that account the Athenians presented him with lands in Salamis.

12. When night came on, and it was now the middle of summer, heavy rain fell through the whole night, and violent thunder about Pelion; but the dead bodies and pieces of wreck were driven to Aphetæ, and got entangled round the prows of the ships, and impeded the blades of the oars. But the soldiers who were on board, when they heard the thunder, were seized with terror, expecting that they must certainly perish, into such calamities had they fallen. For before they had recovered breath, after the wreck and tempest that had occurred off Pelion, a fierce engagement followed; and after the engagement, impetuous rain and mighty torrents rushing into the sea, and violent thunder. Such was the night to them. 13. But to those who had been appointed to sail round Eubœa, this same night proved so much the more wild, in that it fell upon them while they were in the open sea; and the end was grievous to them; for as they were sailing, the storm and rain overtook them when they were near the Cœla of Eubœa, and being driven by the wind, and not knowing where they were driven, they were dashed upon the rocks. All this was done by the deity, that the Persian might be brought to an equality with the Grecian, or at least not be greatly superior. Thus they perished near the Cœla of Eubœa. 14. The barbarians at Aphetæ, when to their great joy day dawned, kept their ships at rest, and were content, after they had suffered so much, to remain quiet for the present. But three and fifty Attic ships came to reinforce the Greeks; and both these by their arrival gave them additional courage, as did the news that came at the same time, that those of the barbarians who were sailing round Eubœa had all perished in the late storm; therefore having waited to the same hour, they set sail and attacked the Cilician ships, and

having destroyed them, as soon as it was night they sailed back to Artemisium.

15. On the third day the commanders of the barbarians, indignant at being insulted by so few ships, and fearing the displeasure of Xerxes, no longer waited for the Greeks to begin the battle; but encouraging one another, got under weigh about the middle of the day. It happened that these actions by sea and those by land at Thermopylæ took place on the same days; and the whole struggle for those at sea was for the Euripus, as for those with Leonidas to guard the pass. The one party encouraging each other not to suffer the barbarians to enter Greece; and the other, to destroy the Grecian forces, and make themselves masters of the channel. 16. When the barbarians, having formed in line, sailed onwards, the Grecians remained still at Artemisium; but the barbarians, having drawn up their ships in the form of a crescent, encircled them as if they would take them; whereupon the Greeks sailed out to meet them, and engaged. In this battle they were nearly equal to one another; for the fleet of Xerxes, by reason of its magnitude and number, impeded itself, as the ships incommoded and ran foul of one another: however they continued to fight, and would not yield, for they were ashamed to be put to flight by a few ships. Accordingly many ships of the Grecians perished, and many men; and of the barbarians a much greater number both of ships and men. Having fought in this manner they separated from each other. 17. In this engagement the Egyptians signalized themselves among the forces of Xerxes; for they both achieved other great actions, and took five Grecian ships, with their crews. On the part of the Greeks, the Athenians signalized themselves on this day, and among the Athenians, Clinias, son of Alcibiades; who at his own expense joined the fleet with two hundred men, and a ship of his own.

18. When they had separated, each gladly hastened to their own stations: but the Grecians, when, having left the battle, they had withdrawn, were in possession of the dead and of the wrecks; yet having been severely handled, and especially the Athenians, the half of whose ships were disabled, they consulted about a retreat to the interior of Greece. 19. But Themistocles having considered with himself, that if the Ioni-

ans and Carians could be detached from the barbarian, they would be able to overcome the rest; as the Eubœans were driving their cattle down to the shore, he there assembled the Grecian commanders together, and told them that he thought he had a contrivance, by which he hoped to draw off the best of the king's allies. This, then, he so far discovered to them, but in the present state of affairs he told them what they ought to do; every one should kill as many of the Eubœan cattle as he thought fit; for it was better that their own army should have them than the enemy. He also advised them each to direct their own men to kindle fires; and promised that he would choose such a time for their departure, that they should all arrive safe in Greece. These things they were pleased to do; and forthwith, having kindled fires, they fell upon the cattle. 20. For the Eubœans, disregarding the oracles of Bacis as importing nothing, had neither carried out any thing to a place of safety, nor collected stores, as if war was approaching; and so had brought their affairs into a precarious state. The oracle of Bacis respecting them was as follows: "Beware of the barbarian-tongued, when he shall cast a byblus-yoke across the sea, remove the bleating goats from Eubœa." As they paid no attention to these verses, in the calamities then present and those that were impending, they fell into the greatest distress. 21. They, then, were acting thus, and in that conjuncture the scout arrived from Trachis. For there was a scout stationed off Artemisium, Polyas of Anticyra, who had been ordered, (and he had a well-furnished boat ready,) if the fleet should be in difficulty, to make it known to those that were at Thermopylæ; and in like manner Abronychus, son of Lysicles an Athenian, was with Leonidas, ready to carry the tidings to those at Artemisium in a triëconter, if any reverse should happen to the land-forces. This Abronychus then arriving, informed them of what had befallen Leonidas and his army; but they, when they heard it, no longer deferred their departure, but retired each in the order in which they were stationed, the Corinthians first, and the Athenians last.

22. Themistocles, having selected the best sailing ships of the Athenians, went to the places where there was water fit for drinking, and engraved upon the stones inscriptions, which the Ionians, upon arriving next day at Artemisium,

read. The inscriptions were to this effect: "Men of Ionia, you do wrong in fighting against your fathers, and helping to enslave Greece: rather, therefore, come over to us; or, if you cannot do that, withdraw your forces from the contest, and entreat the Carians to do the same. But if neither of these things is possible, and you are bound by too strong a necessity to revolt, yet in action, when we are engaged, behave ill on purpose, remembering that you are descended from us, and that the enmity of the barbarian against us originally sprung from you." Themistocles, in my opinion, wrote this with two objects in view; that either, if the inscriptions escaped the notice of the king, he might induce the Ionians to change sides and come over to them; or, if they were reported to him, and made a subject of accusation before Xerxes, they might make the Ionians suspected, and cause them to be excluded from the sea-fights. 23. Themistocles left this inscription, and immediately afterwards a certain Histiaean came to the barbarians in a boat, announcing the flight of the Greeks from Artemisium; but they, through distrust, kept the man who brought the news under guard, and despatched some swift vessels to reconnoitre. When they reported the truth as it was, the whole fleet, as soon as the sun's rays were spread, sailed in a body to Artemisium; and having waited in that place until mid-day, they then sailed to Histiaea, and on their arrival possessed themselves of the city of the Histiaians, and ravaged all the maritime villages of the Ellopiian district, in the territory of Histiaetis.

24. Whilst they were on this coast, Xerxes, having made preparations with respect to the dead, sent a herald to the fleet. And he made the following previous preparations. Of those of his own army, who were slain at Thermopylae, and they were about twenty thousand, of these having left about one thousand, the remainder, having caused pits to be dug, he buried, throwing leaves over them and heaping up earth, that they might not be seen by those who should come from the fleet. When the herald crossed over to Histiaea, having convened a meeting of the whole encampment, he spoke as follows: "Allies, king Xerxes permits any of you who please, to leave his post and come and see how he fights against those senseless men, who hoped to overcome the king's power." 25. After he had made this announcement, nothing was more

scarce than boats, so many were anxious to behold the sight; and having crossed over, they went through and viewed the dead; and all thought that those that lay there were all Lacedæmonians and Thespians, though they also saw the Helots: however Xerxes did not deceive those who had crossed over by what he had done with respect to his own dead, for indeed it was ridiculous; of the one party a thousand dead were seen lying; but the others lay all heaped up together, to the number of four thousand. This day they spent in the view, and on the next they returned to Histiaæ, to their ships, and those with Xerxes set out on their march. 26. Some few deserters came to them from Arcadia, in want of subsistence, and wished to be actively employed: taking these men into the king's presence, the Persians inquired concerning the Greeks, what they were doing. One in particular it was who asked them this question. They answered, that they were celebrating the Olympic games, and viewing gymnastic combats and horse-races. He then asked, what was the reward proposed to them, for which they contended. They mentioned the crown of olive that is given. Upon which Tritantæchmes, son of Artabanus, having uttered a noble sentiment, incurred the charge of cowardice from the king: for having heard that the prize was a crown, and not riches, he could not remain silent, but spoke as follows before all: "Heavens, Mardonius, against what kind of men have you brought us to fight, who contend not for wealth, but for glory!" This, then, was said by him.

27. In the mean time, and when the defeat had occurred at Thermopylæ, the Thessalians immediately sent a herald to the Phocians, as they had always¹ entertained a grudge against them, and particularly since their last defeat. For not many years before this expedition of the king, the Thessalians themselves and their allies, having invaded the territories of the Phocians with all their forces, had been worsted by the Phocians and roughly handled. For when the Phocians had been shut up in Mount Parnassus, having with them the Elean prophet Tellias, this Tellias thereupon devised the following stratagem for them. Having smeared over with chalk six hundred of the bravest Phocians, both the men themselves and their armour, he attacked the Thessalians by night, having ordered them to kill every man they should see not covered

¹ See B. VII. chap. 176.

with white. The sentinels of the Thessalians, accordingly, seeing them first, were terrified, supposing it was some strange prodigy, and after the sentinels, the whole army, so that the Phocians got possession of four thousand dead and shields; of these they dedicated one half at Abæ, and the other at Delphi. The tenth of the treasures taken in this battle composed those great statues which stand about the tripod in the front of the temple at Delphi, and others like them were dedicated at Abæ. 28. Thus the Phocians dealt with the infantry of the Thessalians, who were besieging them; and they inflicted an irreparable blow on their cavalry, when they made an irruption into their territory; for in the entrance which is near Hyampolis, having dug a large pit, they put empty jars in it, and having heaped soil over and made it like the rest of the ground, they waited the attack of the Thessalians; but they, hoping to overwhelm the Phocians, being borne violently on, fell among the jars, whereupon the horses had their legs broken. 29. The Thessalians, bearing a grudge against them for these two things, sent a herald and made the following announcement: "O Phocians, now at length learn better, and know that you are not equal to us. For both before among the Greeks, as long as that party pleased us, we always proved superior to you; and now, we have so great influence with the barbarian, that it is in our power to deprive you of your country; and, moreover, to reduce you to slavery. We, however, though possessing full power, are not mindful of injuries; therefore, let fifty talents of silver be given us by way of reparation, and we promise you to avert the evils that impend over your country."

30. The Thessalians sent them this message. For the Phocians were the only people of those parts who did not side with the Mede; for no other reason, as I conjecture, than their hatred of the Thessalians; but if the Thessalians had taken part with the Greeks, in my opinion the Phocians would have sided with the Mede. When the Thessalians sent this message, they said they would not give money, and that it was in their power to join the Mede as well as the Thessalians, if only they chose to do so; but that they would not willingly be traitors to Greece. 31. When this answer was brought back, the Thessalians thereupon, being incensed with the Phocians, became guides to the barbarian; and, accord-

ingly, they entered from Trachinia into Doris. For a narrow strip of Doric territory extends that way, about thirty stades in breadth, and situate between the Malian and Phocian territory, and which was anciently Dryopis. This region is the mother country of the Dorians in Peloponnesus. The barbarians, in their passage through, did not ravage this Doric territory; for the inhabitants sided with the Mede, and the Thessalians wished them not to do so. 32. When they entered from the Doric to the Phocian territory, they did not take the Phocians themselves, for some of the Phocians had ascended to the heights of Parnassus; and the summit of Parnassus lying near the city of Neon, which stands apart, is well adapted to receive a multitude; its name is Tithorea; to this, then, they carried their property, and ascended themselves: but the greater number of them had conveyed their effects to the Locrian Ozolæ, to the city of Amphissa, which is situate on the Crisæan plain. But the barbarians overran the whole Phocian territory. 33. For marching this way along the river Cephissus, they ravaged the whole country, and burnt down the cities of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon, Pedieæ, Triteæ, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abæ; where was a rich temple of Apollo, adorned with many treasures and offerings, and there was then, and still is, an oracle there; this temple they plundered and burnt; and pursuing some of the Phocians, they took them near the mountains; and they caused the death of some women, by having intercourse with them in great numbers. 34. The barbarians having passed by Parapotamii, arrived at Panopeæ, and from thence, their army being divided, proceeded in two bodies. The largest and most powerful part of the army marching with Xerxes himself towards Athens, entered Bœotia, at the territory of the Orchomenians. But the Bœotians sided with the Mede; Macedonian soldiers therefore posted in different places, having been sent by Alexander, saved their cities; and they saved them in order by this means to make it known to Xerxes that the Bœotians favoured the cause of the Medes. These barbarians, then, took this route.

35. The rest of them, having guides, proceeded towards the temple of Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right: and whatever parts of Phocis they came to, they pillaged; for they set fire to the city of the Panopians, and of the Daulians, and

the Æolidæ. They marched this way detached from the rest of the army for this reason, that having plundered the temple at Delphi, they might present the treasures to king Xerxes. But Xerxes, as I am informed, knew every thing that was of value in the temple better than what he had left at home, many persons continually telling him, especially of the offerings of Cræsus, son of Alyattes. 36. The Delphians having heard of this, fell into a great consternation; and being in a state of great terror, consulted the oracle respecting the sacred treasures, whether they should hide them under ground, or transport them to another country. But the god would not suffer them to be moved; saying, "that he was able to protect his own." The Delphians having received this answer, began to think of themselves: accordingly they sent their children and wives across to Achaia; and the greater part of the men ascended to the tops of Parnassus, and carried their effects into the Corycian cavern; whilst others withdrew to the Locrian Amphissa. Thus all the Delphians abandoned the city, except only sixty men, and the prophet. 37. When the barbarians were advanced near, and saw the temple in the distance, then the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw the sacred arms, which it was not lawful for any mortal to touch, lying before the temple, having been brought out from within the fane. He therefore went to make known the prodigy to the Delphians who were at hand. But when the barbarians, hastening their march, were near the temple of Minerva Pronæa prodigies still greater than the former succeeded. And this indeed is a great wonder, that warlike instruments should be seen, self-moved, lying before the temple, yet the second prodigies, which succeeded after this, are worthy of admiration beyond all other portents. For when the barbarians had advanced near the temple of Minerva Pronæa, at that moment thunder fell on them from heaven, and two crags, broken away from Parnassus, bore down upon them with a loud crash, and killed many of them, and a loud cry and a war-shout issued from the temple of the Pronæa. 38. All these things being commingled together, a panic struck the barbarians; and the Delphians, having learnt that they had fled, came down after them, and slew a great number of them: the survivors fled direct into Bœotia. Those of the barbarians who returned, as I am informed, declared, that besides these they saw other mira-

culous things, for that two heavy-armed men, of more than human stature, followed them, slaying and pursuing them. 39. The Delphians say these two were heroes of the country Phylacus and Autonus, whose precincts are near the temple ; that of Phylacus by the road-side, above the temple of the Pronæa ; and that of Autonus, near the Castalian spring under the Hyampeian summit. The rocks that fell from Parnassus were still preserved in my time, lying in the enclosure of Minerva Pronæa, where they fell when borne among the barbarians. Such, then, was the retreat of these men from the temple.

40. The Grecian fleet from Artemisium, at the request of the Athenians, put in at Salamis. For this reason the Athenians requested them to direct their course to Salamis, that they might remove their children and wives out of Attica, and moreover might consult of what measures were to be taken. For in the present posture of affairs they intended to hold a consultation, as they had been disappointed in their expectation. For whereas they expected to find the Peloponnesians with all their forces waiting in Bœotia to receive the barbarian, they found nothing of the kind ; but were informed that they were fortifying the isthmus leading into the Peloponnesus, considering it of the greatest importance that it should be saved, and that, keeping guard there, they gave up all the rest. Having been informed of this, they therefore entreated them to direct their course to Salamis. 41. The rest therefore held on to Salamis, but the Athenians to their own country ; and on their arrival they caused proclamation to be made, " that every one should save his children and family by the best means he could." Thereupon the greatest part sent away *their families* to Trœzene, some to Ægina, and others to Salamis. They used all diligence to remove them to a place of safety, both from a desire to obey the oracle, and more particularly for the following reason : the Athenians say, that a large serpent used to live in the temple as a guard to the Acropolis ; they both say this, and, as if it were really there, they do it honour by placing before it its monthly food ; the monthly food consists of a honey-cake : this honey-cake having been in former time always consumed, now remained untouched. When the priestess made this known, the Athenians with more readiness abandoned the city, since even the goddess had forsaken the Acropolis. As soon as every thing had

been deposited in a place of safety, they sailed to the encampment. 42. When those from Artemisium stationed their ships at Salamis, the rest of the naval forces of the Greeks being informed of this joined them from Trœzene; for they had been ordered to assemble at Pogon, a harbour of the Trœzenians. Many more ships were assembled together than had fought at Artemisium, and from a greater number of cities. The same admiral commanded them as at Artemisium, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides, a Spartan, though he was not of the royal family: the Athenians, however, furnished by far the most and the best sailing ships.

43. The following joined the fleet. From the Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians, furnishing sixteen ships; the Corinthians, furnishing the same number as at Artemisium; the Sicyonians furnished fifteen ships; the Epidaurians, ten; the Trœzenians, five; and the Hermionians, three; all these, except the Hermionians, being of Doric and Macednic extraction, having come from Erineum, and Pindus, and last of all from Dryopis. The Hermionians are Dryopians, driven out by Hercules and the Malians, from the country now called Doris. These, then, of the Peloponnesians served in the fleet. 44. The following were from the outer continent: the Athenians, beyond all the rest, alone furnished one hundred and eighty ships; for at Salamis the Plataeans did not join their forces to the Athenians, on account of the following circumstance. When the Greeks retired from Artemisium, and were off Chalcis, the Plataeans, having landed on the opposite coast in Bœotia, set about carrying away their families: they, therefore, while saving them, were left behind. The Athenians, when the Pelasgians possessed that which is now called Greece, were Pelasgians, and went by the name of Cranai: under the reign of Cecrops, they were surnamed Cecropidæ; but when Erectheus succeeded to the government, they changed their name for that of Athenians; and when Ion, son of Xuthus, became their leader, from him they were called Ionians. 45. The Megarenes furnished the same complement as at Artemisium; the Ambraciots assisted with seven ships; and the Leucadians, three, these are of Doric extraction, from Corinth. 46. Of the islanders, the Æginetæ furnished thirty ships; they had also other ships ready manned, but with some they guarded their own country, and with thirty the best sailing

vessels, they fought at Salamis. The Æginetæ are Dorians, from Epidaurus, and their island formerly had the name of Ænone. Next to the Æginetæ, the Chalcidians furnished the same twenty as at Artemisium, and the Eretrians the same seven: these are Ionians. Next, the Ceians furnished the same; they are of Ionian extraction, from Athens. The Naxians furnished four; though they had been sent by their fellow-citizens to join the Medes, like the rest of the islanders; but disregarding their orders, they went over to the Greeks, at the instigation of Democritus, a man eminent amongst the citizens, and then commander of a trireme. The Naxians also are Ionians, sprung from Athens. The Styreans furnished the same ships as at Artemisium; the Cythnians one, and a penteconter: both these people are Dryopians. The Seriphians, the Siphnians, and the Malians also joined the fleet; for they only of the islanders refused to give earth and water to the barbarian. 47. All these nations, situate on this side the Thesprotians and the river Acheron, joined the fleet; for the Thesprotians border on the Ampraciot and Leucadians, who joined the fleet from the most distant countries. Of those that dwell beyond them, the Crotoniatæ were the only people who came to assist Greece in this time of danger, with one ship, which Phayllus, who had thrice been victorious in the Pythian games, commanded. The Crotoniatæ are Achæans by extraction. 48. Now the rest joined the fleet, furnishing triremes; but the Malians, Siphnians, and Seriphians, penteconters. The Malians, who are by extraction from Lacedæmon, furnished two; the Siphnians and the Seriphians, who are Ionians from Athens, one each. So that the whole number of ships, besides the penteconters, amounted to three hundred and seventy-eight.

49. When the leaders from the above-mentioned cities met together at Salamis, they held a council, *in which* Eurybiades proposed that any one who chose should deliver his opinion, where he thought it would be most advantageous to come to an engagement by sea, of all the places of which they were still in possession: for Attica was already given up, and he made this proposition concerning the rest. Most of the opinions of those who spoke coincided, that they should sail to the Isthmus, and fight before Peloponnesus; alleging this reason, that if they should be conquered by sea while they were at

Salamis, they should be besieged in the island, where no succour could reach them; but if at the Isthmus, they might escape to their own cities.

50. While the commanders from Peloponnesus were debating these matters, an Athenian arrived with intelligence, that the barbarian had entered Attica, and was devastating the whole of it by fire. For the army with Xerxes, having taken its route through Bœotia, after having burnt the city of the Thespians, who had departed to Peloponnesus, and likewise the city of the Plataeans, had arrived at Athens, and was laying waste every part of it. They set fire to Thespia and Plataea, being informed by the Thebans that they were not on the side of the Medes. 51. From the passage over the Hellespont, thence the barbarians began to march, having spent one month there, including the time they were crossing over into Europe; in three months more they were in Attica, when Calliades was archon of the Athenians. They took the city, deserted of inhabitants, but found some few of the Athenians in the temple, with the treasurers of the temple, and some poor people; who, having fortified the Acropolis with planks and stakes, tried to keep off the invaders: they had not withdrawn to Salamis, partly through want of means, and moreover they thought they had found out the meaning of the oracle which the Pythian delivered to them, that the wooden wall "should be impregnable;" *imagining*, that this was the refuge according to the oracle, and not the ships. 52. The Persians, posting themselves on the hill opposite the Acropolis, which the Athenians call the Areopagus, besieged them in the following manner: when they had wrapped tow round their arrows, and set fire to it, they shot them at the fence. Thereupon those Athenians who were besieged, still defended themselves, though driven to the last extremity, and the fence had failed them; nor, when the Pisistratidæ proposed them, would they listen to terms of capitulation; but still defending themselves, they both contrived other means of defence, and when the barbarians approached the gates, they hurled down large round stones; so that Xerxes was for a long time kept in perplexity, not being able to capture them. 53. At length, in the midst of these difficulties, an entrance was discovered by the barbarians; for it was necessary, according to the oracle, that all Attica, on the continent, should be subdued by the

Persians. In front of the Acropolis, then, but behind the gates and the road up, where neither any one kept guard, nor would ever have expected that any man would ascend that way, there some of them ascended near the temple of Cecrops' daughter Aglauros, although the place was precipitous. When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the Acropolis, some threw themselves down from the wall and perished, and others took refuge in the recess of the temple. But the Persians who had ascended first turned to the gates, and having opened them, put the suppliants to death: and when all were thrown prostrate, having pillaged the temple, they set fire to the whole Acropolis.

54. Xerxes having entire possession of Athens, despatched a messenger on horseback to Susa, to announce to Artabanus his present success. And on the second day after the despatch of the herald, having summoned the exiled Athenians who attended him, he ordered them to offer sacrifices after their own manner, having ascended to the Acropolis; whether he gave this order from having seen a vision in a dream, or a religious scruple came upon him for having set fire to the temple. The exiles of the Athenians performed what was commanded. 55. Why I have recorded these things, I will now mention. There is in this Acropolis a shrine of Erectheus, who is said to be earth-born: in this is an olive-tree and a sea; which, as the story goes among the Athenians, Neptune and Minerva, when contending for the country, placed there as testimonies. Now it happened that this olive-tree was burnt by the barbarians with the rest of the temple; but on the second day after the burning, the Athenians who were ordered by the king to sacrifice, when they went up to the temple, saw a shoot from the stump, sprung up to the height of a cubit. This they affirmed.

56. The Greeks at Salamis, when intelligence was brought them how matters were with respect to the Acropolis of the Athenians, were thrown into such consternation, that some of the generals would not wait until the subject before them was decided on, but rushed to their ships and hoisted sail, as about to hurry away; by such of them as remained it was determined to come to an engagement before the Isthmus. Night came on, and they, being dismissed from the council, went on board their ships. 57. Thereupon Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, inquired of Themistocles, on his return to his ship, what had

been determined on by them. And being informed by him that it was resolved to conduct the ships to the Isthmus, and to come to an engagement before the Peloponnesus, he said, "If they remove the ships from Salamis, you will no longer fight for any country; for they will each betake themselves to their cities; and neither will Eurybiades nor any one else be able to detain them, so that the fleet should not be dispersed; and Greece will perish through want of counsel. But, if there is any possible contrivance, go and endeavour to annul the decree, if by any means you can induce Eurybiades to alter his determination, so as to remain here. 58. The suggestion pleased Themistocles exceedingly; and without giving any answer he went to the ship of Eurybiades; and on reaching it he said that he wished to confer with him on public business. He desired him to come on board his ship, and say what he wished. Thereupon Themistocles, seating himself by him, repeated all that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, making it his own, and adding much more, until he prevailed on him, by entreaty, to leave his ship, and assemble the commanders in council. 59. When they were assembled, before Eurybiades brought forward the subject on account of which he had convened the commanders, Themistocles spoke much, as being very earnest; and as he was speaking, the Corinthian general, Adimantus, son of Ocytus, said: "O Themistocles, in the games those who start before the time are beaten with stripes." But he, excusing himself, answered: "But they who are left behind are not crowned." 60. At that time he answered the Corinthian mildly. But to Eurybiades he said not a word of what he had before mentioned, that if they should remove from Salamis, they would disperse themselves; for when the allies were present it would be by no means becoming in him to accuse any one; he therefore made use of another argument, speaking as follows: (1.) "It rests now with you to save Greece, if you will listen to me, and, remaining here, give battle, and not attend to those who advise you to remove the fleet to the Isthmus. For hear and compare each opinion. In engaging near the Isthmus, you will fight in the open sea, where it is least advantageous to us, who have heavier ships and fewer in number. Besides, you will lose Salamis, and Megara, and Ægina, even if we succeed in other respects: for the land-forces will follow close upon their navy; thus

you will yourself lead them to the Peloponnesus, and expose all Greece to danger. (2.) But if you should do what I advise, you will find the following advantages in it. First of all, by engaging in a narrow space with few ships against many, if the probable results of war happen, we shall be much superior. For to fight in a narrow space is advantageous to us; but in a wide space, to them. Again: Salamis is preserved, in which our children and wives are deposited: Moreover, there is advantage in the plan I advise, for which, too, you are very anxious: by remaining here, you will fight for the Peloponnesus just as much as at the Isthmus; nor, if you are wise, will you lead them to the Peloponnesus. (3.) But if what I hope should happen, and we conquer with our fleet, neither will the barbarians come to you at the Isthmus, nor will they advance farther than Attica, but will retreat in disorder, and we shall gain, by saving Megara, and Ægina, and Salamis, where it is announced by an oracle we shall be superior to our enemies. To men who determine on what is reasonable, corresponding results are for the most part wont to follow; but to those who do not determine on what is reasonable, the deity is not wont to further human designs.” 61. When Themistocles had spoken thus, Adimantus the Corinthian again attacked him, bidding him who had no country be silent, and urging Eurybiades not to go to the vote for a man who had no city; for when Themistocles showed a city, then he would allow him to give his suffrage. He threw out this against him, because Athens had been taken and was in the possession of the enemy. Then, at length, Themistocles spoke with much severity of Adimantus and the Corinthians; and showed by his speech that the Athenians themselves had a city and a territory greater than they, so long as they had two hundred ships fully manned; for that none of the Greeks could repel their attack. 62. Having intimated this, he transferred his discourse to Eurybiades, saying with greater earnestness: “If you remain here, by remaining you will show yourself a brave man;—if not, you will subvert Greece: for the whole success of the war depends on our fleet; therefore yield to my advice. But if you will not do so, we, as we are, will take our families on board and remove to Siris in Italy, which is an ancient possession of ours, and oracles say it is fated to be founded by us. And you, when bereft of such allies, will remember

my words." 63. When Themistocles had spoken thus, Eurybiades changed his opinion: in my opinion, he changed his opinion chiefly from a dread of the Athenians, lest they should desert them, if he took the fleet to the Isthmus. For if the Athenians deserted them, the rest would no longer be a match for the enemy. He, therefore, adopted this advice, to stay there and come to a decisive engagement. 64. Thus they at Salamis, having skirmished in words, when Eurybiades had come to a determination, made preparations to come to an engagement there. Day came, and at sun-rise an earthquake took place on land and at sea. They determined to pray to the gods, and to invoke the Æacidæ as allies; and as they had determined, so they did. For having prayed to all the gods, they forthwith, from Salamis, invoked Ajax and Telamon; and sent a ship to Ægina for Æacus and the Æacidæ. 65. Dicæus, son of Theócydes, an Athenian, and an exile at that time esteemed by the Medes, related, that when the Attic territory was being devastated by the land-forces of Xerxes, having been deserted by the Athenians, he happened then to be with Demaratus the Lacedæmonian, in the Thriasian plain; and he saw a cloud of dust coming from Eleusis, as if occasioned by about thirty thousand men: they were wondering at the cloud of dust, from whatever it might proceed, and suddenly heard a voice, and the voice appeared to him to be that of the mystic Iacchus. Demaratus was unacquainted with the mysteries of Eleusis, and asked Dicæus what it might be that was uttered; but he said: "O Demaratus, it cannot be otherwise than that some great damage will befall the king's army. For this is clear, since Attica is deserted, that what is uttered is supernatural, proceeding from Eleusis to the assistance of the Athenians and the allies. And if it should rush towards the Peloponnesus, there will be danger to the king himself and his army on the continent; but if it should turn toward the ships at Salamis, the king will be in danger of losing his naval armament. The Athenians celebrate this feast every year to the Mother and the Damsel,² and whoever wishes of them and the other Greeks is initiated; and the sound, which you hear, they shout in this very festival." To this Demaratus said: "Be silent, and tell this story to no one else; for if these words should be reported to the king, you

² Ceres and Proserpine.

would lose your head; and neither should I nor any other human being be able to save you. Keep quiet, therefore; and the gods will take care of the army." He, accordingly, gave this advice. But from the dust and voice there arose a cloud, and being raised aloft it was borne towards Salamis, to the encampment of the Greeks. Thus they understood that the fleet of Xerxes was about to perish. This account Dicæus, son of Theocydes, gave, calling on Demaratus and others as witnesses.

66. When the men belonging to the fleet of Xerxes, having viewed the Lacedæmonian loss, crossed over from Trachis to Histiaæa, they remained there three days, and then sailed through the Euripus, and in three days more arrived off Phalerus. In my opinion, they were not fewer in number when they entered Athens, as well those that came by the continent as those in the ships, than when they arrived at Sepias and at Thermopylæ. For I set off against those that perished by the storm, and at Thermopylæ, and at the sea-fight at Artemisium, the following who at that time did not attend the king: the Malians, Dorians, Locrians, and Bœotians, who attended with all their forces, except the Thespians and Plateæans; and besides, the Carystians, Andrians, Tenians, and all the rest of the islanders, except the five cities whose names I have before mentioned: for the farther the Persian advanced into the interior of Greece, a greater number of nations attended him. 67. When, therefore, all these, except the Parians, arrived at Athens, the Parians, being left behind at Cythnus, watched the war, in what way it would turn out; when, however, the rest arrived at Phalerus, then Xerxes himself went down to the ships, wishing to mix with them, and to learn the opinions of those on board. When he had arrived and taken the first seat, the tyrants and admirals of the several nations, being summoned from their ships, came, and seated themselves according as the king had given precedence to each: first, the Sidonian king; next, the Tyrian; and then the others. When they had seated themselves in due order, Xerxes, having sent Mardonius, asked, in order to make trial of the disposition of each, whether he should come to an engagement by sea. 68. When Mardonius, going round, asked the question, beginning from the Sidonian, all the others gave an opinion to the same effect, advising that battle should

be given, but Artemisia spoke as follows: "Tell the king from me, Mardonius, that I say this. It is right that I, sire, who proved myself by no means a coward in the sea-fight off Eubœa, and performed achievements not inferior to others, should declare my real opinion, *and state* what I think best for your interest. Therefore I say this, abstain from using your ships, nor risk a sea-fight; for these men are as much superior to your men by sea, as men are to women. And why must you run a risk by a naval engagement? Have you not possession of Athens, for the sake of which you undertook this expedition, and have you not the rest of Greece? No one stands in your way; and those who still held out against you, have fared as they deserved. (2.) In what way the affairs of your enemies will turn out, I will now say. If you should not hasten to engage in a sea-fight, but keep your fleet here, remaining near land, or even advancing to the Peloponnesus, you will easily effect what you came purposing to do. For the Greeks will not be able to hold out long against you; but you will disperse them, and they will respectively fly to their cities. For neither have they provisions in this island, as I am informed, nor is it probable, if you march your land-forces against the Peloponnesus, that those of them who came from thence, will remain quiet; nor will they care to fight by sea for the Athenians. (3.) But if you should hasten forthwith to engage, I fear lest the sea-forces, being worsted, should at the same time bring ruin on the land-forces. Besides, O king, consider this, that the good among men commonly have bad slaves, and the bad ones, good; and you, who are the best of all men, have bad slaves, who are said to be in the number of allies, such as the Egyptians, Cyprians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians, who are of no use at all." 69. When she said this to Mardonius, such as were well affected to Artemisia were grieved at her words, thinking she would suffer some harm at the king's hand, because she dissuaded him from giving battle by sea: but those who hated and envied her, as being honoured above all the allies, were delighted with her decision, thinking she would be ruined. When, however, the opinions were reported to Xerxes, he was very much pleased with the opinion of Artemisia; and having before thought her an admirable woman, he then praised her much more. However, he gave orders to follow the advice of the majority in this matter

thinking that they had behaved ill at Eubœa on purpose, because he was not present ; he now prepared in person to behold them engaging by sea.

70. When they gave the signal for putting to sea, they got the ships under weigh for Salamis, and drew up near it, taking their stations in silence : at that time, however, there was not day enough for them to enter on a naval engagement ; for night was coming on, they therefore held themselves in readiness for the next day. But fear and dismay took possession of the Greeks, and not least those from Peloponnesus. They were dismayed, because, being posted at Salamis, they were about to fight for the territory of the Athenians ; and if conquered, they would be shut up and besieged in the island, having left their own country defenceless. 71. The land-forces of the barbarians marched that same night against the Peloponnesus ; although every possible expedient had been contrived to hinder the barbarians from entering by the main land. For as soon as the Peloponnesians heard that those with Leonidas at Thermopylæ had perished, they flocked together from the cities and stationed themselves at the Isthmus ; and Cleombrotus, son of Anaxandrides, and brother of Leonidas, commanded them. Having stationed themselves therefore at the Isthmus, and having blocked up the Scironian way, they then, as they determined on consultation, built a wall across the Isthmus. As they were many myriads in number, and every man laboured, the work progressed rapidly ; for stones, bricks, timber, and baskets full of sand were brought to it, and those who assisted flagged not a moment in their work, either by night or by day. 72. Those who assisted at the Isthmus with all their forces, were the following of the Greeks ; the Lacedæmonians, and all the Arcadians, the Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trœzenians, and Hermionians. These were they who assisted, and were very much alarmed at the dangerous situation of Greece : but the rest of the Peloponnesians did not concern themselves about it ; however, the Olympian and Carnian festivals were now past. 73. Seven nations inhabit the Peloponnesus : of these, two, being indigenous, are now seated in the same country in which they originally dwelt, the Arcadians and Cynurians. One nation, the Achæans, never removed from the Peloponnesus, though they did from their own territory, and now occupy

another. The remaining four nations of the seven are foreign, Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians. The Dorians have many and celebrated cities; the Ætolians, only Elis: the Dryopians, Hermione and Asine, situate near Cardamyle of Laconia; the Lemnians have all the Paroreatæ. The Cynurians, who are indigenous, are the only people that appear to be Ionians; but they have become Dorians by being governed by the Argives, and through lapse of time, being Orneatæ³ and neighbouring inhabitants. Of these seven nations, the remaining cities, except those I have enumerated, remained neutral; or, if I may speak freely, by remaining neutral, favoured the Mede.

74. Those at the Isthmus, then, persevered with such zeal, as having now to contend for their all, and as they did not expect to distinguish themselves by their fleet; meanwhile, those at Salamis, having heard of these things, were alarmed, not fearing so much for themselves as for the Peloponnesus. For some time one man standing by another began to talk in secret, wondering at the imprudence of Eurybiades; till at last *their discontent* broke out openly, and a council was called, and much was said on the same subject. Some said, that they ought to sail for the Peloponnesus, and hazard a battle for that, and not stay and fight for a place already taken by the enemy; but the Athenians, Æginetæ, and Megareans, that they should stay there and defend themselves. 75. Thereupon, Themistocles, when he saw his opinion was overruled by the Peloponnesians, went secretly out of the council; and having gone out, he despatched a man in a boat to the encampment of the Medes, having instructed him what to say: his name was Sicinnus; and he was a domestic, and preceptor to the children of Themistocles; him, after these events, Themistocles got made a Thespian, when the Thespians augmented the number of their citizens, and gave him a competent fortune. He, then, arriving in the boat, spoke as follows to the generals of the barbarians: "The general of the Athenians has sent me unknown to the rest of the Greeks, (for he is in the interest of the king, and wishes that your affairs

³ Baehr takes the word Orneatæ to describe people who were transplanted from a distance, and made to dwell near Argos. One advantage in following his interpretation is, that it obviates the necessity of altering the text.

may prosper, rather than those of the Greeks,) to inform you, that the Greeks in great consternation are deliberating on flight; and you have now an opportunity of achieving the most glorious of all enterprises, if you do not suffer them to escape. For they do not agree among themselves, nor will they oppose you; but you will see those who are in your interest, and those who are not, fighting with one another." He having delivered this message to them, immediately departed.

76. As these tidings appeared to them worthy of credit, in the first place, they landed a considerable number of Persians on the little island of Psyttalea, lying between Salamis and the continent; and, in the next place, when it was midnight, they got their western wing under weigh, drawing it in a circle towards Salamis, and those who were stationed about Ceos and Cynosura got under weigh and occupied the whole passage as far as Munychia, with their ships. And for this reason they got their ships under weigh, that the Greeks might have no way to escape, but being shut up in Salamis, might suffer punishment for the conflicts at Artemisium; and they landed the Persians at the little island of Psyttalea for this reason, that, when an engagement should take place, as they expected most part of the men and wrecks would be driven thither, (for that island lay in the strait where the engagement was likely to take place,) they might save the one party, and destroy the other. But these things they did in silence, that the enemy might not know what was going on. They therefore made these preparations by night, without taking any rest.

77. I am unable to speak against the oracles as not being true, nor wish to impugn the authority of those that speak clearly, when I look on such occurrences as the following. "When they shall bridge with ships the sacred shore of Diana with the golden sword, and sea-girt Cynosura, having with mad hope destroyed beautiful Athens, then divine Vengeance shall quench strong Presumption, son of Insolence, when thinking to subvert all things. For brass shall engage with brass, and Mars shall redden the sea with blood. Then the far-thundering son of Saturn and benign victory shall bring a day of freedom to Greece." *Looking on* such occurrences, and regarding Bacis, who spoke thus clearly, I neither dare myself say any thing in contradiction to oracles, nor allow others to do so.

78. There was great altercation between the generals at Salamis : and they did not yet know that the barbarians had surrounded them with their ships ; but they supposed that they were in the same place as they had seen them stationed in during the day. 79. While the generals were disputing, Aristides, son of Lysimachus, crossed over from Ægina ; he was an Athenian, but had been banished by ostracism : having heard of his manner of life, I consider him to have been the best and most upright man in Athens. This person, standing at the entrance of the council, called Themistocles out, who was not indeed his friend, but his most bitter enemy ; yet, from the greatness of the impending danger, he forgot that, and called him, wishing to confer with him ; for he had already heard that those from Peloponnesus were anxious to get the ships under weigh for the Isthmus. When Themistocles came out to him, Aristides spoke as follows : “ It is right that we should strive, both on other occasions, and particularly on this, which of us shall do the greatest service to our country. I assure you, that to say little or much to the Peloponnesians about sailing from hence, is the same thing ; for I, an eye-witness, tell you, now, even if they would, neither the Corinthians, nor Eurybiades himself, will be able to sail away ; for we are on all sides enclosed by the enemy. Go in therefore, and acquaint them with this.” 80. He answered as follows : “ You both give very useful advice, and have brought good news ; for you are come yourself as an eye-witness of what I wished should happen. Know, then, that what has been done by the Medes, proceeds from me. For it was necessary, since the Greeks would not willingly come to an engagement, that they should be compelled to it against their will. But do you, since you come bringing good news, announce it to them yourself, for if I tell them, I shall appear to speak from my own invention, and shall not persuade them, as if the barbarians were doing no such thing. But do you go in, and inform them how the case is : and when you have informed them, if they are persuaded, so much the better ; but if they attach no credit to what you say, it will be the same to us : for they can no longer escape by flight, if, as you say, we are surrounded on all sides.” 81. Aristides, going in, gave this account, saying that he came from Ægina, and with difficulty sailed through

unperceived by those that were stationed round ; for that the whole Grecian fleet was surrounded by the ships of Xerxes. He advised them, therefore, to prepare themselves for their defence. And he, having said this, withdrew ; a dispute, however, again arose, for the greater part of the generals gave no credit to the report. 82. While they were still in doubt, there arrived a trireme of Tenians that had deserted, which Panætius, son of Socimenes, commanded, and which brought an account of the whole truth. For that action the name of the Tenians was engraved on the tripod at Delphi, among those who had defeated the barbarian. With this ship that came over at Salamis, and with the Lemnian before, off Artemisium,⁴ the Grecian fleet was made up to the full number of three hundred and eighty ships ; for before it wanted two of that number.

83. When the account given by the Tenians was credited by the Greeks, they prepared for an engagement. Day dawned, and when they had mustered the marines, Themistocles, above all the others, harangued them most eloquently. His speech was entirely taken up in contrasting better things with worse, exhorting them to choose the best of all those things which depended on the nature and condition of man. Having finished his speech, he ordered them to go on board their ships : they accordingly were going on board, when the trireme from Ægina, which had gone to fetch the Æacidæ, returned. Thereupon the Greeks got all their ships under weigh. 84. When they were under weigh, the barbarians immediately fell upon them. Now all the other Greeks began to back water and made for the shore ; but Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, being carried onwards, attacked a ship ; and his ship becoming entangled with the other, and the crew not being able to clear, the rest thereupon coming to the assistance of Aminias, engaged. Thus the Athenians say the battle commenced ; but the Æginetæ affirm, that the ship which went to Ægina to fetch the Æacidæ, was the first to begin. This is also said, that a phantom of a woman appeared to them, and that on her appearance she cheered them on, so that the whole fleet of the Greeks heard her, after she had first reproached them in these words : “ Dastards, how long will you back water ? ” 85. Opposite the Athenians the Phœnicians were drawn up,

⁴ See chap. 11.

for they occupied the wing towards Eleusis and westward; opposite the Lacedæmonians, the Ionians occupied the wing towards the east and the Piræus. Of these some few behaved ill on purpose, in compliance with the injunctions of Themistocles;⁵ but most of them, not so. I am able to mention the names of several captains of triremes who took Grecian ships; but I shall make no use of them, except of Theomestor, son of Androdamas, and Phylacus, son of Histæus, both Samians. I mention these two only for this reason, because Theomestor, on account of this exploit, was made tyrant of Samos by the appointment of the Persians; and Phylacus was inscribed as a benefactor of the king, and a large tract of land was given him. The benefactors of the king are called in the Persian language, Orosangæ. Such was the case with regard to these men. 86. The greater part of the ships were run down at Salamis; some being destroyed by the Athenians, others by the Æginetæ. For as the Greeks fought in good order, in line, but the barbarians were neither properly formed nor did any thing with judgment, such an event as did happen, was likely to occur. However, they were and proved themselves to be far braver on this day than off Eubœa, every one exerting himself vigorously, and dreading Xerxes; for each thought that he himself was observed by the king.

87. As regards the rest, of some of them I am unable to say with certainty how each of the barbarians or Greeks fought; but with respect to Artemisia, the following incident occurred, by which she obtained still greater credit with the king. For when the king's forces were in great confusion, at that moment the ship of Artemisia was chased by an Attic ship, and she not being able to escape, for before her were other friendly ships, and her own happened to be nearest the enemy, she resolved to do that, which succeeded in the attempt. For being pursued by the Athenian, she bore down upon a friendly ship, manned by Calyndians, and with Damasithymus himself, king of the Calyndians, on board; whether she had any quarrel with him while they were at the Hellespont, I am unable to say, or whether she did it on purpose, or whether the ship of the Calyndians happened by chance to be in her way; however, she ran it down, and sunk it, and

⁵ See chap. 22.

by good fortune gained a double advantage to herself. For the captain of the Attic ship, when he saw her bearing down on a ship of the barbarians, concluding Artemisia's ship to be either a Grecian, or one that had deserted from the enemy and was assisting them, turned aside and attacked others. 88. In the first place, this was the result to her, that she escaped and did not perish; and in the next, it fell out that she having done an injury, in consequence of it, became still more in favour with Xerxes. For it is said, that Xerxes looking on observed her ship making the attack, and that some near him said: "Sire, do you see Artemisia, how well she fights, and has sunk one of the enemy's ships?" Whereupon he asked, if it was in truth the exploit of Artemisia: they answered, "that they knew the ensign of her ship perfectly well;" but they thought that it was an enemy that was sunk. For, as has been mentioned, other things turned out fortunately for her, and this in particular, that no one of the crew of the Calyndian ship was saved so as to accuse her. And it is related that Xerxes said in answer to their remarks: "My men have become women, and my women, men." They relate that Xerxes said this.

89. In this battle perished the admiral, Ariabignes, son of Darius, and brother of Xerxes, and many other illustrious men of the Persians and Medes, and the other allies; but only some few of the Greeks: for as they knew how to swim, they whose ships were destroyed, and who did not perish in actual conflict, swam safe to Salamis; whereas many of the barbarians, not knowing how to swim, perished in the sea. When the foremost ships were put to flight, then the greatest numbers were destroyed; for those who were stationed behind, endeavouring to pass on with their ships to the front, that they, too, might give the king some proof of their courage, fell foul of their own flying ships. 90. The following event also occurred in this confusion. Some Phœnicians, whose ships were destroyed, going to the king, accused the Ionians, that their ships had perished by their means, for that they had betrayed him. It, however, turned out that the Ionian captains were not put to death, but that those Phœnicians who accused them, received the following reward. For while they were yet speaking, a Samothracian ship bore down on an Athenian ship; the Athenian was sunk, and an Æginetan

ship, coming up, sunk the ship of the Samothracians. But the Samothracians being javelin-men, by hurling their javelins, drove the marines from the ship that had sunk them, and boarded and got possession of it. This action saved the Ionians: for when Xerxes saw them perform so great an exploit, he turned round to the Phœnicians, as being above measure grieved, and ready to blame all, and ordered their heads to be struck off, that they who had proved themselves cowards, might no more accuse those who were braver. (For whenever Xerxes saw any one of his own men performing a gallant action in the sea-fight, being seated at the foot of the mountain opposite Salamis, which is called *Ægalcos*, he inquired the name of the person who did it, and his secretaries wrote down the family and country of the captain of the trireme.) Moreover, Ariaramnes, a Persian, who was a friend to the Ionians, and happened to be present, contributed to the ruin of the Phœnicians. They accordingly betook themselves to the Phœnicians.⁶

91. The barbarians being turned to flight, and sailing away towards Phalerus, the *Æginetæ* waylaying them in the strait, performed actions worthy of record. For the Athenians in the rout ran down both those ships that resisted and those that fled; and the *Æginetæ*, those that sailed away from the battle: so that when any escaped the Athenians, being borne violently on, they fell into the hands of the *Æginetæ*. 92. At this time there happened to meet together the ship of Themistocles, giving chase to one of the enemy, and that of Polycritus, son of Crius, an *Æginetan*, bearing down upon a Sidonian ship, the same that had taken the *Æginetan* ship, which was keeping watch off Sciathus, and on board of which sailed Pytheas, son of Ischenous, whom, though covered with wounds, the Persians kept in the ship from admiration of his valour.⁷ The Sidonian ship that carried him about, was taken with the Persians on board, so that Pytheas, by this means, returned safe to *Ægina*. But when Polycritus saw the Athenian ship, he knew it, seeing the admiral's ensign; and shouting to Themistocles, he railed at him, upbraiding him with the charge of Medism brought against the *Æginetæ*.⁸ Polycritus, accordingly, as he was attacking the ship, threw out

⁶ That is, "the executioners put them to death."

⁷ See B. VII. chap. 181.

⁸ See B. VI. chap. 49, 50

these reproaches against Themistocles. But the barbarians, whose ships survived, fled and arrived at Phalerus, under the protection of the land-forces.

93. In this engagement of the Greeks, the *Æginetæ* obtained the greatest renown; and next, the Athenians:—of particular persons, Polycritus of *Ægina*, and Athenians, Eumenes the Anagyrasian, with Aminias a Pallenian, who gave chase to Artemisia; and if he had known that Artemisia sailed in that ship, he would not have given over the pursuit, till he had either taken her, or been himself taken. For such had been the order given to the Athenian captains; and besides, a reward of ten thousand drachmas was offered to whoever should take her alive; for they considered it a great indignity that a woman should make war against Athens. She, however, as has been before mentioned, made her escape; and the others, whose ships survived, lay at Phalerus. 94. The Athenians say, that Adimantus, the Corinthian admiral, immediately from the commencement, when the ships engaged, being dismayed and excessively frightened, hoisted sail and fled; and that the Corinthians, seeing their admiral's ship flying, likewise bore away; and when, in their flight, they arrived off the temple of Minerva Sciras, on the coast of Salamis, a light bark fell in with them by the guidance of heaven; that no one appeared to have sent it, and that it came up to the Corinthians, who knew nothing relating to the fleet. From this circumstance they conjectured the circumstance to be divine; for that when those on board the bark neared the ships, they spoke as follows: "Adimantus, having drawn off your ships, you have hurried away in flight, betraying the Greeks: they, however, are victorious, as far as they could have desired to conquer their enemies." Having said this, as Adimantus did not credit them, they again spoke as follows: that "they were ready to be taken as hostages, and be put to death, if the Greeks were not found to be victorious:" upon which, having put about ship, he and the rest returned to the fleet, when the work was done. Such a story is told of them by the Athenians; the Corinthians, however, do not admit its truth, but affirm that they were among the foremost in the engagement; and the rest of Greece bears testimony in their favour. 95. Aristides, son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, of whom I made mention a little before as a most upright man,

in this confusion that took place about Salamis, did as follows : taking with him a considerable number of heavy-armed men, who were stationed along the shore of the Salaminian territory, and were Athenians by race, he landed them on the island of Psyttalea, and they put to the sword all the Persians who were on that little island.

96. When the sea-fight was ended, the Greeks, having hauled on shore at Salamis all the wrecks that still happened to be there, held themselves ready for another battle, expecting the king would still make use of the ships that survived. But a west wind carrying away many of the wrecks, drove them on the shore of Attica, which is called Colias, so as to fulfil both all the other oracles delivered by Bacis and Musæus concerning this sea-fight, and also that relating to the wrecks which were drifted on this shore, which many years before had been delivered by Lysistratus, an Athenian augur, but had not been understood by any of the Greeks : "The Colian women shall broil their meat with oars."⁹ This was to happen after the departure of the king.

97. Xerxes, when he saw the defeat he had sustained, fearing lest some of the Ionians might suggest to the Greeks, or lest they themselves might resolve to sail to the Hellespont, for the purpose of breaking up the bridges, and lest he, being shut up in Europe, might be in danger of perishing, meditated flight. But wishing that his intention should not be known either to the Greeks or his own people, he attempted to throw a mound across to Salamis ; and he fastened together Phœnician merchantmen, that they might serve instead of a raft and a wall ; and he made preparation for war, as if about to fight another battle at sea. All the others who saw him thus occupied, were firmly convinced that he had seriously determined to stay and continue the war ; but none of these things escaped the notice of Mardonius, who was well acquainted with his design. At the same time that Xerxes was doing this, he despatched a messenger to the Persians, to inform them of the misfortune that had befallen him. 98. There is nothing mortal that reaches its destination more rapidly than these couriers : it has been thus planned by the Persians. They say that as many days as are occupied in the whole journey, so many horses and men are posted at regular inter-

⁹ Or, "shall shudder at the oars."

vals, a horse and a man being stationed at each day's journey : neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor night, prevents them from performing their appointed stage as quick as possible. The first courier delivers his orders to the second, the second to the third, and so it passes throughout, being delivered from one to the other, just like the torch-bearing among the Greeks, which they perform in honour of Vulcan. This mode of travelling by horses the Persians call *angareïon*. 99. The first message that reached Susa, with the news that Xerxes was in possession of Athens, caused so great joy among the Persians who had been left behind, that they strewed all the roads with myrtle, burnt perfumes, and gave themselves up to sacrifices and festivity. But the second messenger arriving threw them into such consternation, that they all rent their garments, and uttered unbounded shouts and lamentations, laying the blame on Mardonius. The Persians acted thus, not so much being grieved for the ships, as fearing for Xerxes himself. And this continued with the Persians during all the time that elapsed until Xerxes himself arrived and stopped them *from doing so*.

100. Mardonius, seeing Xerxes much afflicted on account of the sea-fight, and suspecting he was meditating a retreat from Athens, and having thought within himself, that he should suffer punishment for having persuaded the king to invade Greece, and that it would be better for him to incur the hazard either of subduing Greece, or ending his life gloriously in attempting great achievements : however, the thought of subduing Greece weighed more with him ; having, therefore, considered these things, he thus addressed the king : " Sire, do not grieve, nor think you have suffered any great loss in consequence of what has happened ; for the contest with us does not depend on wood alone, but on men and horses. None of those who imagine they have already finished the whole business, will quit their ships and attempt to oppose you, nor will any one from this continent ; and they who have opposed us, have suffered punishment. If, then, you think fit, let us immediately make an attempt on Peloponnesus ; or if you think right to delay, you may do so. But be not discouraged ; for the Greeks have no means of escape from rendering an account of what they have done now and formerly, and from becoming your slaves. By all means, therefore, do this. If, however, you have determined yourself to retire and to with-

draw the army, I have then other advice to offer. Do not you, O king, suffer the Persians to be exposed to the derision of the Greeks; for where the Persians fought,¹ your affairs received no damage, nor can you say that we have on any occasion proved cowards. But if the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Cyprians, and Cilicians, have shown themselves cowards, this disaster in no respect extends to the Persians. Since, therefore, the Persians are not to blame, yield to my advice. If you have resolved not to stay here, do you return to your own home, and take with you the greatest part of the army; but it is right that I should deliver Greece to you reduced to slavery, having selected three hundred thousand men from the army." 101. Xerxes, having heard this, was rejoiced and delighted, as relieved from troubles, and said to Mardonius, that after deliberation, he would give him an answer as to which of these plans he would adopt. While he was deliberating with his Persian counsellors, he thought fit to send for Artemisia to the council, because she was evidently the only person who before understood what ought to have been done. When Artemisia arrived, Xerxes having ordered his other counsellors of the Persians and his guards to withdraw, spoke as follows: "Mardonius advises me to stay here, and make an attempt on the Peloponnesus; saying, that the Persians and the land army are not at all to blame for the defeat I have sustained, and wish to give me proof of it. He, therefore, advises me either to do this, or wishes himself, having selected three hundred thousand men from the army, to deliver Greece to me reduced to slavery; and advises me to return to my own home with the rest of the army. Do you, therefore, for you gave me good advice respecting the sea-fight that has taken place, in dissuading me from engaging in it, advise me now, by adopting which measure I shall consult best for my interest." 102. Thus he asked her advice. She answered as follows: "O king, it is difficult for me to say what is best for you who ask my advice. However, in the present state of affairs, it appears to me that you should return home, and leave Mardonius here with the troops he requires, if he wishes it, and promises to effect what he says. For, on the one hand, if he conquers what he says he will, and his plans should succeed, the achievement, sire, will be yours, for your servants

¹ Literally, "among the Persians."

will have accomplished it. But, on the other hand, if things fall out contrary to the expectation of Mardonius, it will be no great misfortune, so long as you survive, and your own affairs are safe at home. For whilst you survive, and your house, the Greeks will have to hazard frequent struggles for themselves. But of Mardonius, if he should suffer any reverse, no account will be taken; nor if the Greeks are victorious, will they gain any great victory in destroying your slave. But you, having burnt Athens, for which you undertook this expedition, will return home." 103. Xerxes was pleased with her advice, for she happened to say the very things that he designed. For even if all the men and women of the world had advised him to stay, in my opinion, he would not have stayed, so great was his terror. Having commended Artemisia, he sent her to conduct his sons to Ephesus; for some of his natural sons had accompanied him.

104. With the children he sent Hermotimus, as guardian, who was by birth a Pedasian, and among the eunuchs second to none in the king's favour. The Pedasians dwell above Halicarnassus; and among these Pedasians the following occurrence takes place: when within a certain time any calamity is about to fall on the different neighbours who dwell round their city, then the priestess of Minerva has a large beard. This has already happened twice to them. 105. Hermotimus, then, was sprung from these Pedasians; and of all the men we know, revenged himself in the severest manner for an injury he had received. For having been taken by an enemy, and sold, he was purchased by one Panionius, a Chian, who gained a livelihood by most infamous practices. For whenever he purchased boys remarkable for beauty, having castrated them, he used to take and sell them at Sardis and Ephesus for large sums; for with the barbarians eunuchs are more valued than others, on account of their perfect fidelity. Panionius, therefore, had castrated many others, as he made his livelihood by this means, and among them this man: Hermotimus, however, was not unfortunate in every respect, for he went to Sardis with other presents to the king; and in process of time was most esteemed by Xerxes of all his eunuchs. 106. When the king was preparing to march his Persian army against Athens, and was at Sardis, at that time having gone down, on some business or other, to the Mysian territory which the Chians possess,

and is called Atarneus, he there met with Panionius. Having recognised him, he addressed many friendly words to him; first recounting to him the many advantages he had acquired by his means; and secondly, promising him how many benefits he would confer on him in requital, if he would bring his family and settle there:² so that Panionius, joyfully accepting the proposal, brought his children and wife. But when Hermotimus got him with his whole family in his power, he addressed him as follows: "O thou, who of all mankind hast gained thy livelihood by the most infamous acts, what harm had either I, or any of mine, done to thee, or any of thine, that of a man thou hast made me nothing? Thou didst imagine, surely, that thy machinations would pass unnoticed by the gods; who following righteous laws, have enticed thee, who hast committed unholy deeds, into my hands, so that thou canst not complain of the punishment I shall inflict on thee." When he had thus upbraided him, his sons being brought into his presence, Panionius was compelled to castrate his own sons, who were four in number; and being compelled, he did it; and, after he had finished it, his sons, being compelled, castrated him. Thus the vengeance of Hermotimus³ overtook Panionius.

107. Xerxes, when he had committed his sons to Artemisia to convey to Ephesus, having sent for Mardonius, bade him choose what forces he would out of the army, and endeavour to make his actions correspond with his words. Thus much was done that day; but in the night, the admirals, by the king's order, took back the ships from Phalerus to the Hellespont, as quickly as each was able, in order to guard the bridges for the king to pass over. But when the barbarians were sailing near Zoster, where some small promontories jut out from the main land, they fancied that they were ships, and fled for a considerable distance; but after a while, perceiving that they were not ships but promontories, they collected together, and pursued their voyage. 108. When day came, the Greeks, seeing the land-forces remaining in the same place, supposed that their ships also were at Phalerus; they expected also that they would come to an engagement, and prepared to defend themselves; but when they were informed that the ships had departed, they immediately determined to pursue them. How-

² At Sardis.

³ Literally, "vengeance and Hermotimus."

ever they did not get sight of Xerxes' naval force, although they pursued them as far as Andros : on arriving at Andros, therefore, they held a council. Themistocles accordingly gave his opinion, "that shaping their course between the islands, and pursuing the ships, they should sail directly to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridges." But Eurybiades gave a contrary opinion, saying, that "if they destroyed the bridges, they would do the greatest possible harm to Greece : for if the Persian, being shut in, should be compelled to remain in Europe, he would endeavour not to continue inactive ; for if he continued inactive, he could neither advance his affairs, nor find any means of returning home, but his army must perish by famine ; and if he should attack them and apply himself to action, all Europe would probably go over to him, by cities and nations, either through being taken by force, or capitulating beforehand ; and they would derive sustenance from the annual produce of the Greeks. He thought however that the Persian, having been conquered in the sea-fight, would not remain in Europe, and therefore should be permitted to fly, until in his flight he should reach his own country. After that he advised that he should be compelled to fight for his own territories." This opinion the commanders of the other Peloponnesians adhered to.

109. When Themistocles perceived that he could not persuade the majority to sail for the Hellespont, changing his plan, he thus addressed the Athenians, (for they were exceedingly annoyed at the escape of the enemy, and were desirous, having consulted among themselves, to sail to the Hellespont, even if the others would not.) "I have myself, ere this, witnessed many such instances, and have heard of many more ; that men, when driven to necessity after being conquered, have renewed the fight and repaired their former loss. Since, then, we have met with unexpected success for ourselves and Greece, by having repelled such a cloud of men, let us no longer pursue the fugitives. For we have not wrought this deliverance, but the gods and the heroes, who were jealous that one man should reign over both Asia and Europe, and he unholy and wicked ; who treated sacred and profane things alike, burning and throwing down the images of the gods ; who even scourged the sea, and threw fetters into it. Since, then, our affairs are in a prosperous condition, let us remain in

Greece, and take care of ourselves and our families ; let every one repair his house and apply attentively to sowing his ground, after he has thoroughly expelled the barbarian ; and at the beginning of the spring let us sail to the Hellespont and Ionia." This he said wishing to secure favour with the Persian, that, if any misfortune should overtake him from the Athenians, he might have a place of refuge ; which eventually came to pass. 110. Themistocles, in saying this, deceived them ; and the Athenians were persuaded ; for as he had been before considered a wise man, and had now shown himself to be really wise and prudent in counsel, they were ready to yield implicitly to what he said. But after they had been persuaded, Themistocles presently sent off certain persons in a boat, who he was confident would, though put to every torture, keep secret what he had enjoined them to say to the king ; and of these his domestic Sicinnus⁴ was again one. When they reached the shore of Attica, the rest remained in the boat, and Sicinnus having gone up to the king, spoke as follows : " Themistocles, son of Neocles, general of the Athenians, the most valiant and wisest of all the allies, has sent me to tell you, that Themistocles, the Athenian, wishing to serve you, has withheld the Greeks, who wished to pursue your ships, and to destroy the bridges on the Hellespont ; now therefore retire at your leisure." They, having made this communication, sailed back again.

111. The Greeks, when they had determined neither to pursue the ships of the barbarians any farther, nor to sail to the Hellespont and destroy the passage, invested Andros with intention to destroy it : for the Andrians were the first of the islanders who, when asked for money by Themistocles, refused to give it : but when Themistocles held this language to them, that " the Athenians had come having with them two powerful deities, Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore they must give money ; " they answered to this, saying, that " the Athenians were with good reason great and prosperous, and were favoured by propitious gods ; since however the Andrians were poor in territory, and had reached the lowest pitch of penury, and two unprofitable goddesses, Poverty and Impossibility, never forsook their island, but ever loved to dwell there ; therefore that the Andrians, being in possession

⁴ See chap. 75.

of these deities, would not give any money ; for that the power of the Athenians would never prove superior to their inability." They then, having made this answer, and refused to give money, were besieged. 112. Themistocles, for he never ceased coveting more wealth, sending threatening messages to the other islands, demanded money by the same persons, using the same language he had used with the Andrians ; saying that unless they gave what was demanded, he would lead the forces of the Greeks against them, and would besiege and destroy them. By saying this he collected large sums from the Carystians and the Parians ; who being informed respecting Andros that it was besieged for siding with the Mede, and with regard to Themistocles, that he was in the greatest reputation of the generals, alarmed at these things, sent money. Whether any other of the islanders gave it I am unable to say ; but I am of opinion that some others did, and not these only. However, the Carystians⁵ did not by these means at all defer calamity ; though the Parians, having conciliated Themistocles with money, escaped a visit from the army. Themistocles, accordingly, setting out from Andros, obtained money from the islanders, unknown to the other generals.

113. The army with Xerxes having stayed a few days after the sea-fight, marched back into Bœotia by the same way, for it appeared to Mardonius, both that he should escort the king, and that the season of the year was unfit for military operations ; and that it would be better to winter in Thessaly, and to make an attempt on the Peloponnesus early in the spring. When he arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius there selected, first, all the Persians who are called Immortals, except Hydarnes their general, for he declared he would not leave the king ; after these, out of the rest of the Persians, the cuirassiers, and the body of a thousand horse,⁶ and the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians, both infantry and cavalry ; he chose these whole nations ; but from the rest of the allies he selected a few, choosing such as were of a good stature, or by whom he knew some gallant action had been performed. Amongst them, he chose the greatest part of the Persians, who wore necklaces and bracelets ; next to them, the Medes ; these were not less numerous than the Persians, but were inferior in strength. Thus

⁵ See ch. 121.

⁶ See B. VII. ch. 40, and IX. ch. 62.

the whole together, with the cavalry, made up the number of three hundred thousand. 114. At this time, while Mardonius was selecting his army, and Xerxes was in Thessaly, an oracle came to the Lacedæmonians from Delphi, *admonishing them* to demand satisfaction of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and to accept whatever should be given by him. Accordingly the Spartans immediately despatched a herald as quickly as possible, who, when he overtook the whole army still in Thessaly, having come into the presence of Xerxes, spoke as follows: "King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians and Heraclidæ of Sparta demand of you satisfaction for blood, because you have slain their king, while protecting Greece." But he laughing, and having waited a considerable time, as Mardonius happened to be standing near him, pointed to him, and said, "This Mardonius, then, shall give them such satisfaction as they deserve." The herald, having accepted the omen, went away.

115. Xerxes, having left Mardonius in Thessaly, himself marched in all haste to the Hellespont; and arrived at the place of crossing in forty-five days, bringing back no part of his army, so to speak. Wherever, and among whatever nation, they happened to be marching, they seized and consumed their corn; but if they found no fruit, overcome by hunger, they eat up the herbage that sprung up from the ground, and stripped off the bark of trees and gathered leaves, both from the wild and cultivated, and left nothing; this they did from hunger. But a pestilence and dysentery falling on the army, destroyed them on their march. Such of them as were sick, Xerxes left behind, ordering the cities through which he happened to be passing, to take care of and feed them: some in Thessaly, others at Siris of Pæonia, and in Macedonia. Here having left the sacred chariot of Jupiter, when he marched against Greece, he did not receive it back, as he returned; for the Pæonians having given it to the Thracians, when Xerxes demanded it back, said that the mares had been stolen, as they were feeding, by the upper Thracians, who dwell round the sources of the Strymon. 116. There the king of the Bisaltæ and of the Crestonian territory, a Thracian, perpetrated a most unnatural deed: he declared that he would not willingly be a slave to Xerxes, but went up to the top of Mount Rhodope, and enjoined his sons not to join the expedition against Greece. They, however, disregarding his pro-

hibition, from a desire to see the war, served in the army with the Persian: but when they all returned safe, being six in number, their father had their eyes put out for this disobedience; and they met with this recompence.

117. The Persians, when in their march from Thrace they arrived at the passage, in great haste crossed over the Hellespont to Abydos in their ships; for they found the rafts no longer stretched across, but broken up by a storm. While detained there, they got more food than on their march, and having filled themselves immoderately, and changed their water, a great part of the army that survived, died: the rest with Xerxes reached Sardis. 118. This different account is also given, that when Xerxes in his retreat from Athens arrived at Eïon on the Strymon, from thence he no longer continued his journey by land, but committed the army to Hydarnes to conduct to the Hellespont, and himself going on board a Phœnician ship passed over to Asia: that during his voyage a violent and tempestuous wind from the Strymon overtook him; and then, for the storm increased in violence, the ship being overloaded, so that many of the Persians who accompanied Xerxes were on the deck, thereupon the king becoming alarmed, and calling aloud, asked the pilot if there were any hope of safety for them; and he said: "There is none, sire, unless we get rid of some of those many passengers." It is further related, that Xerxes, having heard this answer, said: "O Persians, now let some among you show his regard for the king, for on you my safety seems to depend." That he spoke thus; and that they, having done homage, leapt into the sea; and that the ship, being lightened, thus got safe to Asia. *It is added*, that Xerxes, immediately after he landed, did as follows: he presented the pilot with a golden crown, because he had saved the king's life; but ordered his head to be struck off, because he had occasioned the loss of many Persians. 119. This latter story is told of the return of Xerxes, but appears to me not at all deserving of credit, either in other respects, nor as to this loss of the Persians; for if this speech had been made by the pilot to Xerxes, I should not find one opinion in ten thousand to deny that the king would have acted thus: that he would have sent down into the hold of the ship those who were on deck, since they were Persians, and Persians of high rank, and would have thrown

into the sea a number of rowers, who were Phœnicians, equal to that of the Persians. He, however, as I have before related, proceeding on the march with the rest of the army, returned to Asia. 120. This also is a strong proof: it is known that Xerxes reached Abdera on his way back, and made an alliance of friendship with the people, and presented them with a golden scymetar, and a gold-embroidered tiara. And as the Abderites themselves say, saying what is by no means credible to me, he there for the first time loosened his girdle in his flight from Athens, as being at length in a place of safety. Abdera is situated nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eïon, whence they say he embarked on board the ship.

121. Meanwhile the Greeks, finding they were not able to reduce Andros, turned to Carystus, and having ravaged their country, returned to Salamis. In the first place, then, they set apart first-fruits for the gods, and among other things, three Phœnician triremes; one to be dedicated at the Isthmus, which was there in my time; a second at Sunium, and the third to Ajax, there at Salamis. After that, they divided the booty, and sent the first-fruits to Delphi, from which a statue was made, holding the beak of a ship in its hand, and twelve cubits in height; it stands in the place where is the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian. 122. The Greeks, having sent first-fruits to Delphi, inquired of the god in the name of all, if he had received sufficient and acceptable first-fruits: he answered, that from the rest of the Greeks he had, but not from the Æginetæ; of them he demanded an offering on account of their superior valour in the sea-fight at Salamis. The Æginetæ, being informed of this, dedicated three golden stars, which are placed on a brazen mast in the corner, very near the bowl of Cræsus.⁷ 123. After the division of the booty, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, for the purpose of conferring the palm of valour upon him among the Greeks who had proved himself most deserving throughout the war. When the generals, having arrived, distributed the ballots at the altar of Neptune, selecting the first and second out of all; thereupon every one gave his vote for himself, each thinking himself the most valiant; but with respect to the second place, the majority concurred in selecting Themistocles. They, there-

⁷ See B. I. chap. 51.

fore, had but one vote, whereas Themistocles had a great majority for the second honour. 124. Though the Greeks, out of envy, would not determine this matter, but returned to their several countries without coming to a decision; yet Themistocles was applauded and extolled throughout all Greece, as being by far the wisest man of the Greeks. But because, although victorious, he was not honoured by those who fought at Salamis, he immediately afterwards went to Lacedæmon, hoping to be honoured there. The Lacedæmonians received him nobly, and paid him the greatest honours. They gave the prize of valour to Eurybiades, a crown of olive; and of wisdom and dexterity to Themistocles, to him also a crown of olive. And they presented him with the most magnificent chariot in Sparta; and having praised him highly, on his departure, three hundred chosen Spartans, the same that are called knights, escorted him as far as the Tegean boundaries. He is the only man that we know of whom the Spartans escorted on his journey. 125. When he arrived at Athens, from Lacedæmon, thereupon Timodemus of Aphidnæ, who was one of Themistocles' enemies, though otherwise a man of no distinction, became mad through envy, reproached Themistocles, alleging against him his journey to Lacedæmon; and that the honours he received from the Lacedæmonians were conferred on account of Athens, and not for his own sake. But he, as Timodemus did not cease to repeat the same thing, said: "The truth is, neither should I, were I a Belbinite, have been thus honoured by the Spartans; nor would you, fellow, were you an Athenian." So far, then, this occurred.

126. In the mean time, Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, a man even before of high repute among the Persians, and much more so after the battle of Plataæ, having with him sixty thousand men of the army which Mardonius selected, escorted the king as far as the passage. And when the king arrived in Asia, he, marching back, came into the neighbourhood of Pallene: but as Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia, and there was nothing as yet to urge him to join the rest of the army, he did not think it right, since he happened to be in the way of the Potidæans who had revolted, to neglect the opportunity of reducing them to slavery. For the Potidæans, as soon as the king had passed by, and the

Persian fleet had fled from Salamis, openly revolted from the barbarians; as also did the other inhabitants of Pallene. 127. Artabazus, therefore, besieged Potidæa. And as he suspected that the Olynthians intended to revolt from the king, he also besieged their city. The Bottiæans then held it, who had been driven from the bay of Therma by the Macedonians. When he had besieged and taken them, having taken them out to a marsh, he slaughtered them, and gave the city to Critobulus of Torone to govern, and to the Chalcidian race: thus the Chalcidians became possessed of Olynthus. 128. Artabazus, having taken this city, applied himself vigorously to the siege of Potidæa; and, as he was earnestly engaged with it, Timoxenus, general of the Scionæans, treated with him for the betrayal of the city: in what way at first I am unable to say, for it is not reported; at last, however, the following plan was adopted. When either Timoxenus had written a letter and wished to send it to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, having rolled it round the butt-end of an arrow, and put the feathers over the letter, they shot the arrow to a spot agreed upon. But Timoxenus was detected in attempting to betray Potidæa. For Artabazus, when endeavouring to shoot to the spot agreed upon, missed the right spot and wounded one of the Potidæans on the shoulder; a crowd ran round the wounded man, as is usual in time of war; they having immediately drawn out the arrow, when they perceived the letter, carried it to the generals; and an allied force of the other Pallenians was also present. When the generals had read the letter, and discovered the author of the treachery, they determined not to impeach Timoxenus of treason, for the sake of the city of the Scionæans, lest the Scionæans should ever after be accounted traitors. In this manner, then, he was detected. 129. After three months had been spent by Artabazus in the siege, there happened a great ebb of the sea, which lasted for a long time. The barbarians, seeing a passage that might be forded, marched across towards Pallene; and when they had performed two parts of their journey, and three still remained, which they must have passed over to be within Pallene, a strong flood-tide of the sea came on them, such as was never seen before, as the inhabitants say, though floods are frequent. Those, then, that did not know how to swim, perished, and those that did know

how, the Potidæans, sailing upon them in boats, put to death. The Potidæans say, that the cause of this flux and inundation, and of the Persian disaster, was this, that these very Persians who were destroyed by the sea, had committed impieties at the temple of Neptune, and the statue which stands in the suburbs; and in saying this was the cause, they appear to me to speak correctly. The survivors Artabazus led to Thessaly, to join Mardonius. Such, then, was the fate of those troops that had escorted the king.

130. The naval force of Xerxes, that survived when it reached Asia in its flight from Salamis, and had transported the king and his army from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyme. And at the first appearance of spring, it assembled early at Samos; and some of the ships had wintered there. Most of the marines were Persians and Medes, and their generals came on board, Mardontes, son of Bagæus, and Artayntes, son of Artachæus; and Ithamitres, nephew of the *latter*, shared the command with them, Artayntes himself having associated him with them. As they had sustained a severe blow, they did not advance farther to the westward, nor did any one compel them; but remaining, they kept watch over Ionia lest it should revolt, having three hundred ships, including those of Ionia. Neither did they expect that the Greeks would come to Ionia, but *thought* they would be content to guard their own territory; inferring this, because they had not pursued them in their flight from Salamis, but had readily retired. By sea therefore they despaired of success, but on land they imagined that Mardonius would be decidedly superior. While they were at Samos, they at the same time consulted together whether they could do the enemy any damage, and listened anxiously for news of how the affairs of Mardonius would succeed. 131. The approach of spring, and Mardonius being in Thessaly, aroused the Grecians. Their land-forces were not yet assembled; but their fleet arrived at Ægina, in number one hundred and ten ships. Their leader and admiral was Leotychides, son of Menares, son of Agesilaus, son of Hippocratides, son of Leotychides, son of Anaxilaus, son of Archidamus, son of Anaxandrides, son of Theopompus, son of Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Eunomus, son of Polydectes, son of Prytanis, son of Euryphon, son of Procles, son of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, son of

Cleodæus, son of Hyllus, son of Hercules: he was of the second branch of the royal family. All these, except the two mentioned first after Leotychides, were kings of Sparta. Xanthippus, son of Aripbron, commanded the Athenians. 132. When all these ships were assembled at Ægina, ambassadors from the Ionians arrived at the encampment of the Greeks; who a short time before had gone to Sparta, and entreated the Lacedæmonians to liberate Ionia; and among them was Herodotus, son of Basilides. These, who were originally seven in number, having conspired together, formed a plan of putting Strattis, the tyrant of Chios, to death; but as they were detected in their plot, one of the accomplices having given information of the attempt, thereupon the rest, being six, withdrew from Chios and went to Sparta, and at the present time to Ægina, beseeching the Greeks to sail down to Ionia; they with difficulty prevailed on them to advance as far as Delos. For all beyond that was dreaded by the Greeks, who were unacquainted with those countries, and thought all parts were full of troops; Samos, they were convinced in their imaginations, was as far distant as the columns of Hercules. Thus it fell out, that at the same time the barbarians durst not sail farther westward than Samos; nor the Greeks, though the Chians besought them, further eastward than Delos. Thus fear protected the midway between them.

133. The Greeks, then, sailed to Delos, and Mardonius was in winter-quarters about Thessaly. When preparing to set out from thence, he sent a man, a native of Europus, whose name was Mys, to consult the oracles, with orders to go every where and consult all that it was possible for him to inquire of. What he wished to learn from the oracles when he gave these orders, I am unable to say, for it is not related; I am of opinion, however, that he sent to inquire about the affairs then depending, and not about any others. 134. This Mys clearly appears to have arrived at Lebadea, and having persuaded a native of the place by a bribe, descended into the cave of Trophonius; and arrived also at the oracle of Abæ of the Phocians; moreover, as soon as he arrived at Thebes, he first of all consulted the Ismenian Apollo, and it is there the custom, as in Olympia, to consult the oracle by means of victims; and next, having persuaded some stranger, not a Theban, by money, he caused him to sleep in the temple of Amphiaraus. For none of the

Thebans are permitted to consult there, for the following reason : Amphiaraus, communicating with them by means of oracles, bade them choose whichever they would of these two things, to have him either for their prophet, or their ally, abstaining from the other : they chose to have him for their ally : for this reason therefore no Theban is allowed to sleep there.

135. The following, to me very strange circumstance, is related by the Theban to have happened : that this Mys, of Europus, in going round to all the oracles, came also to the precinct of the Ptoan Apollo ; this temple is called Ptoan, but belongs to the Thebans, and is situate above the lake Copais, at the foot of a mountain, very near the city of Acræphia : that when this man, called Mys, arrived at this temple, three citizens, chosen by the public, accompanied him for the purpose of writing down what the oracle should pronounce : and forthwith the priestess gave an answer in a foreign tongue ; and that those Thebans who accompanied him stood amazed at hearing a foreign language instead of Greek, and knew not what to do on the present occasion ; but that Mys suddenly snatching from them the tablet which they brought, wrote on it the words spoken by the prophet ; and said that he had given an answer in the Carian tongue ; and after he had written it down he departed for Thessaly.

136. Mardonius having read the answers of the oracles, afterwards sent Alexander, son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, as an ambassador to Athens ; as well because the Persians were related to him, (for Bubares, a Persian, had married Alexander's sister Gygæa, daughter of Amyntas, by whom he had the Amyntas in Asia, who took his name from his maternal grandfather : to him Alabanda, a large city of Phrygia, had been given by the king to govern,) as because he had been informed that Alexander was a friend and benefactor of the Athenians ; Mardonius therefore sent him. For in this way he thought he should best be able to gain over the Athenians, having heard that they were a numerous and valiant people ; and besides, he knew that the Athenians had been the principal cause of the late disaster of the Persians at sea. If these were won over, he hoped that he should easily become master at sea, which indeed would have been the case ; and on land he imagined that he was much superior : thus he calculated that his power would get the upper hand of the Grecian. Per-

haps also the oracles had given him this warning, advising him to make Athens his ally ; accordingly, relying on them, he sent.

137. The seventh ancestor of this Alexander was Perdiccas, who obtained the sovereignty of the Macedonians in the following manner. Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas, three brothers, of the descendants of Temenus, fled from Argos to the Illyrians, and crossing over from the Illyrians into the upper Macedonia, they arrived at the city of Lebæa ; there they entered into the king's service for wages. One of them had the care of his horses ; another, of his oxen ; and the youngest of them, Perdiccas, of the lesser cattle. Formerly, even monarchs were poor in wealth, and not only the people ; so that the wife of the king used herself to cook their food. Whenever the bread of the hireling lad Perdiccas was baked, it became twice as large as at first : and when this always happened, she told it to her own husband. It immediately occurred to him, when he heard it, that it was a prodigy, and boded something of importance. Having therefore summoned the hirelings, he commanded them to depart out of his territories. They answered, that they were entitled to receive their wages, and then they would go. Thereupon the king, hearing about wages, as the rays of the sun reached into the house down the chimney, said, being deprived of his senses by the deity : " I give you this, as your wages equal to your services ;" pointing to the sun. Gauanes and Aëropus, the elder, stood amazed when they heard this. But the lad, for he happened to have a knife, saying thus, " We accept thy offer, O king," traced a circle on the floor of the house round the sun's rays, and having so traced the circle, and having drawn the sun's rays three times on his bosom, departed, and the others with him. 138. They accordingly went away ; but one of those who were sitting by him, informed the king what the lad had done, and how the youngest of them accepted the offer with some design. He, on hearing this, being in a rage, despatched after them some horsemen to kill them. In this country is a river, to which the descendants of these men from Argos sacrifice as their deliverer. It, when the Temenidæ had crossed over, swelled to such a height, that the horsemen were unable to cross it. They, then, coming to another district of Macedonia, settled near the gardens that are said to

have belonged to Midas, son of Gordias; in which wild roses grow, each one having sixty leaves, and surpassing all others in fragrance. In these gardens, Silenus was taken, as is related by the Macedonians. Above the gardens is a mountain, called Bermion, inaccessible from the cold. Issuing from thence, when they had possessed themselves of this tract, they subdued the rest of Macedonia. 139. From this Perdiccas, Alexander was thus descended. Alexander was the son of Amyntas, Amyntas of Alcetes, the father of Alcetes was Aëropus, of him Philip, of Philip, Argæus, and of him, Perdiccas, who acquired the sovereignty. Thus, then, was Alexander son of Amyntas descended.

140. When he arrived at Athens, being sent by Mardonius, he spoke as follows: (1.) "Men of Athens, Mardonius says thus: A message has come to me from the king, conceived in these terms: 'I forgive the Athenians all the injuries committed by them against me; therefore, Mardonius, do thus. First, restore to them their territory; and next, let them choose, in addition to it, another country, whatever they please, and live under their own laws; and rebuild all their temples which I have burnt, if they are willing to come to terms with me.' These orders having come to me, I must of necessity execute them, unless you on your part oppose. And now I say this to you. Why are you so mad as to levy war against the king: for neither can you get the better of him, nor can you resist him for ever. You are acquainted with the multitude of Xerxes' army, and their achievements; you have heard of the force that is even now with me; so that even if you should get the better of us and conquer, (of which, however, you can have no hope, if you think soberly,) another much more numerous will come against you. Suffer not yourselves, then, to be deprived of your country, and to be continually running a risk for your existence, by equalling yourselves with the king, but be reconciled to him; and it is in your power to be reconciled honourably, since the king is so disposed. Be free, having contracted an alliance with us, without guile or deceit. (2.) This, O Athenians, Mardonius charged me to say to you. But I, for my own part, will say nothing of the good-will I bear towards you; for you would not learn it for the first time. But I entreat you, listen to Mardonius, for I see that you will not always be able to carry on war against

Xerxes. For if I had seen this power in you, I would never have come to you bringing such a proposal. For the power of the king is more than human, and his arm exceeding long. If, then, you do not immediately come to terms, when they offer such favourable conditions on which they are willing to agree, I greatly fear for you, who of all the allies dwell in the most beaten road, and who must continually be the only people destroyed, since ye possess a territory exposed, as being between both armies. Be persuaded, then; for this is a high honour to you, that the great king, forgiving your offences alone among all the Greeks, is willing to become your friend." Thus spoke Alexander. 141. But the Lacedæmonians, having been informed that Alexander had arrived at Athens, in order to induce the Athenians to an agreement with the barbarian; and remembering the oracles, how it was fated that they, with the rest of the Dorians, should be driven out of Peloponnesus by the Medes and Athenians, were very much afraid lest the Athenians should make terms with the Persian, and therefore resolved forthwith to send ambassadors. It so happened that the introduction of both took place at the same time. For the Athenians had purposely delayed the time, well knowing that the Lacedæmonians would hear that an ambassador had come from the barbarian to negotiate a treaty, and that when they did hear of it, they would send ambassadors with all speed. They, therefore, designedly so contrived, as to show their intentions to the Lacedæmonians. 142. When Alexander had ceased speaking, the ambassadors from Sparta, speaking next, said: "The Lacedæmonians have sent us to entreat you not to adopt any new measures with respect to Greece, nor to listen to proposals from the barbarian; for neither would it be by any means just nor honourable either in any others of the Greeks, and least of all in you, for many reasons. For you raised this war, against our wish, and the contest arose about your sovereignty; but it now relates to the whole of Greece. Besides, that the Athenians, who are the authors of all these things, should prove the occasion of slavery to Greece, is on no account to be borne; you, who always, and from of old, have been seen to assert the freedom of many nations. We, however, sympathize with you in your difficulties, and that you have already been deprived of two harvests, and that your property has been so long involved in

ruin. But in compensation for this, the Lacedæmonians and the allies promise to support your wives and all the rest of your families which are useless in war, as long as the war shall continue. Therefore, let not Alexander the Macedonian persuade you, by glossing over the proposal of Mardonius; for this is what he would naturally do; for being himself a tyrant, he aids a tyrant's cause. But you should not so act, if indeed you think rightly; because you know that with barbarians there is neither faith nor truth." Thus spoke the ambassadors. 143. The Athenians gave the following answer to Alexander: "We ourselves are aware of this, that the power of the Medes is far greater than ours; so that there was no need to insult us with that. But, nevertheless, being ardent for liberty, we will defend ourselves in such manner as we are able. But do not you attempt to persuade us to come to terms with the barbarian, for we will not be persuaded. Go, then, and tell Mardonius, that the Athenians say, so long as the sun shall continue in the same course as now, we will never make terms with Xerxes: but we will go out to oppose him, trusting in the gods, who fight for us, and in the heroes, whose temples and images he, holding them in no reverence, has burnt. And do you appear no more in the presence of the Athenians, bringing such proposals; nor, imagining that you do us good service, urge us to do wicked deeds. For we are unwilling that you, who are our guest and friend, should meet with any ungracious treatment at the hands of the Athenians." 144. To Alexander they gave this answer; and to the ambassadors from Sparta the following: "That the Lacedæmonians should fear lest we should make terms with the barbarian, was very natural; yet, knowing as you do the mind of the Athenians, you appear to entertain an unworthy dread; for there is neither so much gold any where in the world, nor a country so pre-eminent in beauty and fertility, by receiving which, we should be willing to side with the Mede and enslave Greece. For there are many and powerful considerations that forbid us to do so, even if we were inclined. First and chief, the images and dwellings of the gods, burnt and laid in ruins: this we must needs avenge to the utmost of our power, rather than make terms with the man who has perpetrated such deeds. Secondly, the Grecian race being of the same blood and the same language, and the temples of the gods and sacrifices in

common ; and our similar customs ; for the Athenians to become betrayers of these would not be well. Know, therefore, if you did not know it before, that so long as one Athenian is left alive, we will never make terms with Xerxes. Your forethought, however, which you manifest towards us, we admire, in that you provide for us whose property is thus ruined, so as to be willing to support our families ; and you have fulfilled the duty of benevolence ; we, however, will continue thus in the state we are, without being burdensome to you. Now, since matters stand as they do, send out an army with all possible expedition ; for, as we conjecture, the barbarian will in no long time be here to invade our territories, as soon as he shall hear our message that we will do none of the things he required of us. Therefore, before he has reached Attica, it is fitting that we go out to meet him in Bœotia." When the Athenians had given this answer, the ambassadors returned to Sparta.
